

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

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Rules of Hatch Act To Affect Campaign

"Clean Politics Law" Limits Activities of Federal and State Employees

EXPENDITURES TO BE CURBED

\$3,000,000 Limit Fixed for Each Party. Maximum Individual Contribution Is Restricted to \$5,000

Amid the preoccupation of the American people with the wars abroad and with their own problems of national defense, together with their interest in the two political conventions, little attention has been paid to a recent act of Congress of far-reaching importance. Final enactment of the Hatch bill is the most drastic action ever taken by an American Congress to regulate and control political campaigns. Its full significance will be appreciated during the political campaign of this fall, for its provisions go into effect immediately upon the signature of the President.

Clean Politics Bills

In reality, there are two Hatch Acts. The original law was signed by the President, August 2, 1939. The second act was finally approved by Congress just before it recessed for the Democratic National Convention. These measures have been called the "clean politics bills" or bills to "eliminate pernicious political activities." They are designed to eliminate certain of the more flagrant abuses that have characterized American politics for decades. The first Hatch Act applied only to employees of the federal government; the second bill extends the same restrictions to employees of state and local agencies whose funds are provided totally or in part by the federal government. In addition, the second bill places regulations upon the use of money in political campaigns.

Agitation for legislation of this kind followed the 1936 elections. Numerous complaints were received to the effect that strong pressure was brought to bear upon those on relief during the campaign of that year. A special congressional committee investigated the charges of abuse, and it discovered that, in certain instances, people on relief were threatened with the loss of their jobs if they refused to vote as they were told. The Hatch measures go much further than to eliminate this particular abuse. They undertake to institute vital reforms in the political methods of both parties. Let us, therefore, examine the main provisions of the Hatch measures and see their effect upon political practices.

The first Hatch Act applies to all persons employed by the federal government, with the exception of the President, members of Congress, and officials who hold policy-making positions. In this latter category are included members of the cabinet and other officials who help determine administration policies, and who do not merely administer the law. To all others, the restrictions of the act apply. The main restrictions are as follows:

1. It is unlawful for any person "to intimidate, threaten, or coerce" voters in a national election.

2. No person employed by the federal government—either in the regular departments, independent agencies, or in corporations which are controlled by the government—may use his influence or authority for political purposes; that is, he is not allowed to participate in political campaigns

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CHUNGKING—SEAT OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

Independent Citizenship

BY WALTER E. MYER

A citizen, in order to be effective and in order to protect his own interests, must rise above partisanship. This is not to say that he should abstain from membership in a party. The voter should ordinarily ally himself with a party. He should vote at primaries, helping to nominate candidates, as well as to elect them. He should exert all possible influence in the control of party machinery. It is natural, too, that he should have an interest in the party of his choice. But he should not be a slave to party. He loses in influence if he becomes so devoted to it that he will always support it, whatever its stand; if he is so emotional in his loyalty to party that he cannot study the issues in any particular campaign independently, giving due weight to arguments advanced by all groups and factions. The man or woman who is tied to a party, who always supports its candidates, who is a Democrat or a Republican or a Socialist simply because his parents have been, because of childhood associations—such a person is a weakling who does not give his intelligence a chance to operate.

Most people would deny that they are slaves to party. If accused of it they would say that they read the platforms and the speeches and then form their own judgments. And, of course, many are really independent. That is proved by the fact that during recent years majorities have so rapidly switched back and forth between the parties. But it is hard for one to judge his independence. He may read the speeches of all the candidates and may become acquainted with all the conflicting arguments, and yet he may use the facts he accumulates merely to strengthen a position which he took at the very outset. His mind may have been made up all along and he may merely be adding to his store of arguments. One who studies in that spirit does not go in the direction of truth. The best course for the intelligent and independent citizen to follow is to give his attention first, not to parties and candidates, but to problems. Then, after he has come to his decisions, and not before, let him examine the positions of the parties and candidates to see which of them would support the greater part of his program. In this way alone can the citizen assert independence and exercise real power.

Japan Weighs New Moves In East Asia

COLLAPSE OF HOLLAND AND FRANCE
MAY CAST HUGE EASTERN EMPIRES ADRI

OTHER POWERS INTERESTED

BRITISH, RUSSIAN, AMERICAN, FRENCH, AND POSSIBLY GERMAN INTERESTS THREATEN TROUBLE FOR TOKYO

While the attention of most of the world has been fastened on European affairs during the past few months, a situation of considerable complexity has been gradually developing in the Far East. Japan, the hub around which Far Eastern affairs revolve, is believed to be on the threshold of a new phase of her policy of establishing a "new order" in east Asia, a phase which may push her forces into Borneo, French Indo-China, and the East Indies, changing the entire face of the Orient. The cabinet, headed by Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai, has resigned, and it is widely believed in Japan that a reorganization of the government on one-party totalitarian lines is imminent. The whole question of the China war, and of Japan's relations with other world powers—in particular with Russia, Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and Italy, is being reviewed. International tension, relatively dormant for some time in that region, is mounting again. Whether there is trouble on the horizon is not actually certain, but its groundwork is being laid with care.

Affected by Europe

Behind this rising tension lies the fact that Japan, like Italy, may find her hand forced by the European war. Her policy now is to dominate Asia, and today she sees two big segments of that part of Asia she covets—French Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies—being cast adrift from their moorings by the defeat of their mother countries in Europe. Her shrewd statesmen note that England is now battling for her life, Russia is moving troops and long trainloads of military supplies to the Siberian-Manchukuoan borders, and the United States is plunging into a huge armament program which will be well under way in two or three years, but not before. All these developments tend to convince Japan's imperialists that if action to the south is to be undertaken, Japan must act now—before the United States is armed and before Europe's arms and resources are concentrated under one power which might then turn on Japan to keep her cut of southeast Asia.

On the other hand, there are certain drawbacks which must be taken into account. It is true that the Japanese desire to extend their control to the south, and it is probably true that they have planned such an extension for some time. But on two counts they have calculated badly. First, they expected the war in China to have been settled some time ago. Second, they expected France to hold out much longer than she did. The long war in China has severely strained Japanese economy, worn down her military equipment, and given rise to a war weariness among the people in general. As opposed to this, they must take note of the United States Navy, which is now located close by in Hawaii, the British Asiatic fleet and the great coastal defenses around Singapore, and the considerable power of Russia in the rear. Thus Japan faces the

(Concluded on page 3)

Historic Role of Dardanelles Is Traced in "Turkey at the Straits"

TODAY, as throughout the centuries of recorded history, the Straits which separate Europe from Asia are playing a prominent role in international politics. One hears rumors and denials of demands made upon Turkey by the Soviet Union for control of the Straits. The Straits are coveted by Germany as the key to her expansion eastward, into the Near East. In the early stages of the present war, the Allies lined up Turkey to prevent the Straits from falling into enemy hands and to safeguard their own possessions in the Near East. To a Europe constantly seeking to push into Asia and to an Asia equally determined to spread its influence into the European continent, the Straits have been important throughout history.

When one speaks of the Straits, one has in mind the three waterways which separate the Mediterranean from the Black Sea. They consist of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles. The Bosphorus is a channel 18 miles long which unites the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora. The Sea of Marmora is itself some 170 miles long and 50 miles wide, whereas the Dardanelles extend 47 miles, with an average breadth of three or four miles. Thus the Straits stand as a vital link between the countries of eastern Europe and the Mediterranean.

Until recently, no comprehensive, usable



history of the role played by the Straits has appeared in English. For that reason, "Turkey at the Straits: A Short History" by James T. Shotwell and Francis Deak (New York: The Macmillan Company, \$2) will be welcomed by all students of international relations.

Issues in connection with control of the Straits have existed almost constantly since the dawn of civilization. As the authors point out, the Straits figured prominently in the Trojan Wars; the power of Troy was erected on their control. So long as the Trojans held the Straits they could prosper from the lucrative Black Sea trade and prevent the Greeks from sharing in it. When Athens became powerful, a cardinal point in her policy was to hold this route to the Black Sea, and so long as she held it she was dominant. The power of Athens was broken when the

Spartan fleet overwhelmed the Athenian.

Control of the Straits played no small part in the growth of the Roman Empire. Constantinople (present-day Istanbul) became "the only great port which kept alive the traditions of antique culture during the dark ages." Its fleet "was able to control the Straits much more successfully than its armies the surrounding provinces." Throughout the Byzantine period, there was constant conflict among the rival powers for control of the strategic waterway. When Venice was able to turn the Fourth Crusade against the Greek Empire and hold the city of Constantinople, it became overlord of the Black Sea region.

One of the most interesting chapters in the struggle over the Straits is that which deals with Turkish ascendancy. It took the Ottoman Turks a century to dominate the Straits and they used their strategic position as a springboard for further expansion into Europe. They overran the Balkans and came to the very gates of Vienna before they were finally pushed back. The Bosphorus, Sea of Marmora, and Dardanelles were jealously guarded by the Turks, who excluded foreign shipping from the Black Sea.

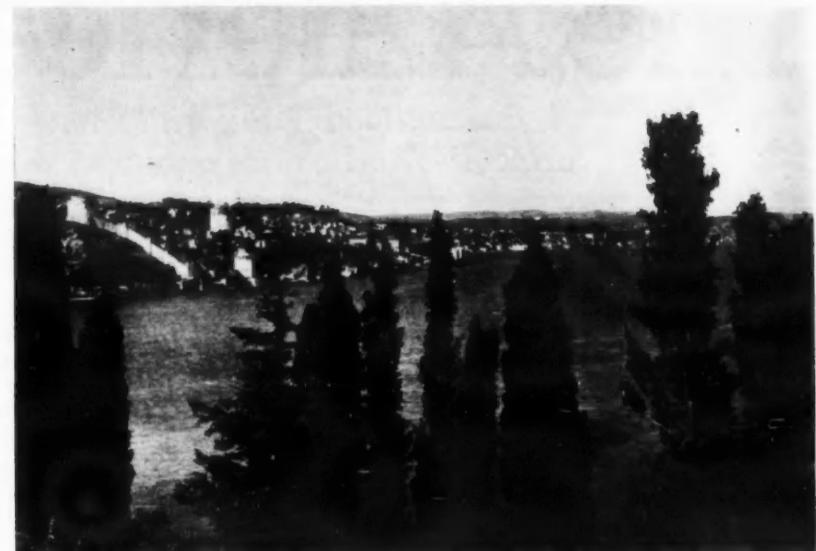
The seeds of Russia's present policy of seeking to control Constantinople and the Straits were sown by Peter the Great, who challenged Turkish supremacy in the Black Sea. Peter sent a diplomatic mission to Constantinople demanding the right of Russian vessels to cross the Black Sea. Failing in diplomacy, he sought by arms to win his point, but was defeated and forced to relinquish his territorial possessions on the Black Sea. Catherine was more successful, for she conquered territories for Russia on the Black Sea. She sent a fleet through Gibraltar to attack Constantinople from the west. She would undoubtedly have achieved her purpose had she not been obliged to turn her attention to Poland. But she did succeed in ending the period when the Black Sea was merely a Turkish lake.

The conflicting interests of the rival European powers in the Straits became fully apparent during the nineteenth century. To Russia, control of the waterway was an essential feature of her program of obtaining a window on the Mediterranean as well as on the Baltic. To Germany, recently appearing on the scene as an industrial rival to Britain, the Straits were vital to her ambitious program of domination from Berlin to Baghdad. And to Great Britain, it was essential that the Straits be kept from falling into hostile hands which might challenge her position in the Mediterranean and thus menace her life line of empire.

It was in order to remove the friction and the diplomatic intrigue of the prewar years that the peace settlement undertook to place the Straits under international control. One of President Wilson's Fourteen Points declared that "the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees." The agreement reached provided for the demilitarization of both the European and the Asiatic sides of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and international control of the whole region, with certain safeguards to Turkey's security.

With the growing power of Turkey in the postwar era, changes in the status of the Straits were made at the Montreux conference of 1936. Here Turkey was given a large degree of control over the Straits, the International Straits Commission was abolished and its functions turned over to the Turkish government. Thus once more, Turkey came to occupy a key position in the European struggle—a position which became even more important with the outbreak of war last September.

Professors Shotwell and Deak make no attempt to predict what will happen to the Straits in the future. Their task is merely to outline the history and to point to the vital importance of this dividing line of two continents.



AMERICAN FRIENDS OF TURKEY
THE BOSPORUS AS SEEN THROUGH A SCREEN OF CYPRUS TREES

What the Magazines Say

KARL WALTER, British journalist who has just spent six years in Italy, discloses some interesting facts about the country in the July issue of *Fortnightly*. Italians have resented the attitude of the English government in the past and British indifference to the Italian form of government. They have felt strongly about British labor policy and about certain British leaders, especially Chamberlain and Eden. These sentiments have prevented any Anglo-Italian agreement and have united the Italians behind Il Duce.

But, says Mr. Walter, only a small minority of the Italian people, active members of the Fascist party, have the will to "believe, obey, fight." This group polices the country and enables Mussolini to follow a pro-German policy which is unpopular with the majority of the people. Millions of Italians want a "just peace," and by that they mean defeat of the powers in control of the world today.

Two things have largely led to a rift in Anglo-Italian relations—sanctions and British Mediterranean policy. Many Italians, non-Fascists, hoped that Great Britain would firmly oppose the Ethiopian conquest and bottle up the Suez Canal—even at the risk of war. They felt that this would overthrow the Mussolini regime. But applying sanctions strengthened Mussolini's position. When Mussolini changed his Austrian policy and began a period of cooperation with Germany, leading to the Rome-Berlin Axis, thousands of Italians blamed England for this course of events.

Italy, continues Mr. Walter, has also resented British Mediterranean policy. She has always considered the Mediterranean and an interest in the Suez Canal extremely vital to her. If Great Britain had called a conference consisting of Italy, France, Egypt, and England to arrange for some sort of joint control of the Suez Canal, Italy would have been only too eager to exclude Germany. Mussolini would have been robbed of his one great war argument at home and today would have had no idea of conquering the Sudan and Egypt.

* * *

In the current issue of *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, F. C. Harrington discusses the future of the Works Progress

replies that then there would be no centralization of control or maintenance of adequate relief standards among the states. Furthermore, he does not believe that the United States should do away with the WPA and put the unemployed on the dole. America is profiting by the work of the WPA. There are new roads, schools, bridges, and hospitals.

There are a great many jobs ahead for

THERE ARE MANY JOBS
WE COULD DO—NEW ROADS,
SCHOOLS, SEWER SYSTEMS,
ETC., ETC.

the WPA to do, concludes Colonel Harrington. Soil conservation will keep thousands of WPA workers busy. Hundreds of new roads, sewer systems, and schools are needed. Men on relief can construct them. In the future, long-range plans must be made. Americans now realize that the unemployment problem is not a short-term one which business prosperity alone can solve, declares the Colonel.

* * *

Former Governor Lawrence M. Judd states Hawaii's case for statehood in an article in the July issue of *Current History and Forum*. Over a hundred thousand American citizens will be unable to vote in the forthcoming election because Hawaii still has the status of a territory. These people are contributing more in taxes than 14 individual states, yet do not have the privilege of voting.

When Hawaii became a territory of the United States in 1898, her people ceded certain sovereign rights in the belief that the territorial status was merely a temporary step prior to statehood. They have tried many times during the past 42 years to obtain statehood but have never succeeded. American citizens in Hawaii, says Mr. Judd, feel that they are getting unfair treatment. Because Hawaii is an island territory separated by miles of water from the United States is no reason for this unequal status, it is held.

Statehood for Hawaii would do away with taxation without representation. Hawaii would have her own state constitution. Her citizens would be able to participate in national elections, and they would be represented in Congress by two senators and one representative. Hawaii, says Mr. Judd, has a good record behind her. She is one of the best customers of the United States, exceeded in her purchases by only four major nations. She is prosperous; her system of education is good; her finances are sound. There would be no danger of block voting by the Japanese or any other racial group, for these people are being rapidly Americanized. In fact, there is no reason why Hawaii should not be granted statehood, says the author.



Administration. He does not feel that the war in Europe will solve the unemployment problem in the United States or help decrease the rolls of the WPA. Rather we must guard against further economic disruption as a result of the conflict.

To those who argue that it would be a good idea to turn relief funds over to the states for management, Colonel Harrington

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Japanese Weigh Southward Push

(Concluded from page 1)

unhappy paradox of finding the doorway to the south suddenly opened to her at a time when there is no certainty that she is prepared to pass through it. Can the Japanese safely embark upon a push to the south at this time? Only Tokyo knows the answer, and that is why the whole question of the China war and foreign relations is now under review.

Military Position

First, let us take Japan's military position in China. Actually, Tokyo finds little cause for satisfaction in it. No better today than it was a year ago, in some respects it is worse, because the costs of military occupation have mounted steadily, and precious time has been allowed to lapse without gain. Since the European war began, Japan has launched four big offensives—each designed to break once and for all the power of Chinese armies to resist. The first—the autumn campaign around Changsha, failed in less than a month. A winter drive up the Canton railway was turned back, as was a push along the Indo-Chinese border in the extreme south. Japan's greatest effort, a spring drive across the Yellow River toward Shensi, the economic and military stronghold of the Chinese northern armies, was driven back with heavy losses after a few successes. Since the fourth failure the Japanese have had to content themselves with bombing raids on Chinese cities and railways.

These failures have proved galling to Japanese army officers. Wounded in pride, and bitter over their loss of prestige, high Japanese army men have laid all blame on the nations which sent supplies to China over the "backdoor" routes from Burma, Indo-China, and Russia. Chiefly they have blamed the United States, England, France, and the Soviet Union.

Until quite recently Japanese foreign policy strove before everything else to cut off these movements of military supplies into China, by negotiation where possible, and by intimidation where not. This policy failed to bear fruit for many months because Japan's own diplomatic position was severely weakened last August by the signing of the famous pact between Germany and the Soviet Union. Previous to that pact Japan had counted on Germany to keep her old enemy, Russia, occupied in the west and in such constant fear of attack that she could not afford to meddle in eastern affairs. Thus when it became known that Hitler and Stalin had entered a friendship pact, Japan was stunned and suddenly silent.

Nervous, uncertain, and worried, last winter, the Japanese faced the bitter fact that they were making no progress on either the diplomatic or military front. Their worries were increased when the Japanese-American commercial treaty of 1911 was terminated and the American government showed no signs of wanting to see a new one signed—unless the Japanese would make substantial concessions.

One Important Step

During this entire period Japan took but one step of any importance. That was the establishment of what she called the Central Government of China at Nanking—a thinly disguised puppet government headed by that gifted but somewhat shifty scholar and former associate of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek—Wang Ching-wei. By establishing this government the Japanese hoped to win over a few hundred million wavering Chinese, and they hoped also to force foreign governments to recognize this government (and with it the Japanese conquest) by making it impossible for them to trade in China without reaching an agreement with Wang Ching-wei.

This plan has failed. When the Central Government was established, Wang and his Japanese supporters apparently did not foresee the strength of Chiang's resistance. Chiang Kai-shek's troops have fought so



JAPAN'S DREAMS OF A MIGHTY EMPIRE IN THE EAST

NEW YORK TIMES

well, in fact, that a number of officials who deserted to Wang in the beginning have slipped away from Nanking and rejoined the National Government at Chungking. Admittedly disappointed in China's cold reception to the establishment of Wang, the Japanese have also so far failed to obtain foreign recognition of any importance. If the Japanese had their way, foreign governments with complaints over the treatment of their nationals or property in China would have to deal directly with Wang, and thus confirm what is called *de facto* recognition of his rule, but the United States, Great Britain, and every other power have persistently taken their complaints direct to Tokyo.

Diplomatic Rebuffs

The deterioration of Japan's diplomatic position could be measured a few months ago by the fact that Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States all refused to stop shipments of supplies to the Chinese government, and in general adopted an independent attitude toward Tokyo. Japanese trade negotiators in Moscow were treated so coolly that they were finally called home, and a Russian-Japanese border commission gave up in despair after months of futile efforts to demarcate the Manchukuoan-Siberian frontier. Long lines of trucks continued to toil over the rough Burma road to China without letup, loaded with supplies for Chiang. During this period the Japanese began to adopt a more reasonable attitude toward the Allies.

But all this changed almost overnight when the German army smashed through the Low Countries and into France. When Holland fell, the Netherlands Indies were cut adrift to shift for themselves under a Dutch local administration. Japan immediately warned all other powers to keep hands off, and was answered by a veiled counter-warning from Secretary Hull to the effect that any Japanese move in the direction of these islands would be a concern of the

United States. But in the meantime France tottered and collapsed, leaving Indo-China exposed. Britain, long secure, suddenly found herself fighting for her existence, with no breath to spare for Far Eastern problems. And the Soviets, faced with what was to them the unhappy prospect of a German-dominated Europe, began desperately to dig in for whatever might come if and when Hitler could dispose of Britain. In the United States, public interest shifted rapidly from the Pacific to Europe, and some people began to talk of moving the fleet into the Atlantic to protect the Caribbean, South America, and the eastern seaboard.

Thus the Japanese today find clear skies over the Far East. No power in Europe, save possibly Russia, is now able to intervene with any effect in East Asia. France is stricken, England is too hard-pressed, and Germany and Italy, who seem to be on top, are conveniently bottled up by the British blockade. It is a pure case of Europe's checkmating itself to the advantage of Japan. As a result both Britain and what is left of France have beaten a hasty diplomatic retreat. Japanese officers now supervise China-bound traffic on the French railway from Indo-China, and the British have agreed to close the Burma road to traffic for three months. Since that road will be rendered virtually impassable by the rainy season, which lasts for just about that length of time, it may be said that this agreement is not very important. But in the meantime, it is believed that British and Japanese diplomats are engaged in further talks, and that the British have offered to act as intermediaries between Tokyo and Chungking in negotiating a peace. This has been denied from London, but rumors persist in circulating (apparently with some foundation), and if there is any truth in the story, its implications are important. If Japan is willing to conclude an honorable peace with Chiang at this time, observers believe it is because she wishes to strike southward into Indo-

China and the Indies with all possible speed and effect.

Why Japan Is Hurried

Why is Japan so hurried? Apparently for the interesting reason that she feels her own conquests must be completed before Hitler can win the war in Europe (assuming, for the moment, that he can). Many Japanese in high places believe that while Hitler may encourage Japanese expansion now, he does so only because he sees in it a weapon to use against the British. With his queer racial theories, however, he is expected later to oppose the creation of any great eastern empire ruled by the yellow race, whether Chinese or Japanese. In the long run, it is thought, a victorious Germany, able to concentrate all the great power and resources of Europe, might become a great menace to Japan. And the idea is disturbing.

With these considerations in mind, the Japanese are now debating whether to launch a total war against China, and thus consolidate what gains they have already made as rapidly as possible, or remain on the defensive and obtain a peace if possible in China, and strike southward, with or without the consent of Britain and the United States. The East Indies are incredibly rich, and supply the whole world with a huge variety of materials—some of them rare. The stakes are high. If Japan can ally herself with Germany and Italy, temporarily and as a matter of convenience, and gain control of the East Indies and French Indo-China, she may well become one of the greatest and richest powers on earth. If not, she runs the danger of losing all in the attempt.

The projected formation of a new government, streamlined and closely integrated, suggests that Japan may be preparing for an intense effort. What decision the new government will make, and what effect it will have on the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and perhaps Germany, observers everywhere are waiting to see.



COLONEL KNOX MEETS WITH MEMBERS OF THE DEFENSE COMMISSION

Shortly after taking the oath of office as secretary of the navy, Knox met with William S. Knudsen (right) and Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (left).

HARRIS & EWING

DOMESTIC

Defense Moves

Week by week, the government's program to strengthen the nation's defenses becomes more intensive. Accustomed by now to plans which call for billions of dollars, Congress is steadily providing the necessary funds to expand and equip the Army and the Navy. The biggest job now is the production of ships and planes, guns and tanks. These are the latest developments:

1. Before recessing for the Democratic National Convention, Congress passed the bill which authorizes the construction of a two-ocean navy. At an estimated cost of about \$4,000,000,000, the Navy's present fleet of 369 vessels will be increased to about 700 warships—destroyers, submarines, cruisers, battleships, etc.—afloat by 1946 or 1947. However, Chairman David I. Walsh of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee says that by the time the costs of maintenance and other incidentals are figured in, the total bill will be around \$9,660,000,000.

Only a few days earlier, the Navy ordered 45 warships in a single day. To speed up the orders, the Navy is permitted by a new law to negotiate and bargain with the shipyards, rather than to award contracts on the basis of competitive bidding.

2. In a message to Congress, President Roosevelt pledged that "we will not send our men to take part in European wars." The purpose of the message was to request another \$4,848,000,000 for the Army and Navy. As soon as Congress acts on this sum, it will have provided \$14,700,000,000 for immediate and future national defense costs during this one session. The additional money will be used for a variety of military and naval needs, including complete equipment for an army of 1,200,000 men, reserve supplies for another 800,000 men, and 19,000 planes for the Army and the Navy.

3. The National Defense Council's Advisory Commission has paved the way for the delivery of 25,000 planes to the Army and the Navy by July 1942. The Commission makes no decisions on the kinds or quantities of equipment needed by the naval and military services. It simply smooths the way for speedier ordering and delivery of the necessary items.

4. Secretary of Navy Frank Knox and Secretary of War Henry Stimson have been handling their new jobs for some days now. Even before their appointments were confirmed by the Senate a few days prior to the recessing of Congress, the two men were officially at work. But acting secretaries headed the departments until the new cabinet officers were legally installed by confirmation of the Senate.

British Children

Widespread sympathy for the British children who are waiting to be taken to safety in the United States has not yet served to secure their passage.

Our State and Justice Departments have

announced jointly that visitors' visas will be issued to children under 16. There are two requirements for the issuance of a visa. There must be no doubt as to the intention concerning return after the war. There must be no chance of the child's becoming a public charge during his stay.

Charitable organizations are permitted to guarantee the support of children. A citizen who wishes to help may send money to one of these organizations, he may promise to pay the living expenses of a child, or he may offer to take a child into his home. The United States Committee for the Care of European Children, with headquarters at 215 Fourth Avenue, New York City, is one of the groups engaged in this work. A number of private schools have offered free board and tuition to boys and girls from the British Isles.

Unfortunately for the 100,000 children who have passed their physical examinations and are ready for their flight from danger, the British government has announced that it cannot spare warships to convoy the children's transports. The recent sinking of the *Arandora Star*, loaded with German and Italian prisoners, proved the necessity of having the vessels adequately protected, the official statement said.

As a solution to the problem, the suggestion

THE MAIN ATTRACTION
SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

is made by Miss Dorothy Thompson that United States ships, flying the Red Cross flag as well as the stars and stripes, be sent for the children. She holds that there will be no danger if we make it clear to Germany that the ships are bound on what is only an errand of mercy and that they are carrying no supplies to her enemy. Under our present Neutrality Act, however, no such action is possible. Our vessels are not permitted to enter the war zone.

Maeterlinck Arrives

The crowds who saw Shirley Temple in "The Bluebird" not long ago did not realize that the author of the famous play was to pay the United States an enforced visit within only a few months.

When the Greek liner *Nea Hellas* docked at Hoboken, New Jersey, recently, Maurice Polydore Marie Bernard Maeterlinck was sitting in the tourist-class lounge. Thin, tired, and old, his long white hair held in place by a black net, M. Maeterlinck was slumped in his

The Week at Home

What the People of the World are Doing

seat. Near him stood a cage containing the parakeets which Madame Maeterlinck called their "two little bluebirds for happiness." At the age of 78, the "Belgian Shakespeare," as a noted French critic once called him, was in exile.

Fortunately M. Maeterlinck will receive royalties on his plays while he lives in the United States, but the property he left in Europe he may never see again. His money is in Brussels. He fled from Nice at an hour's notice, abandoning his house and all his belongings. For a time he lived in Lisbon, but a warning that the Germans were likely to take Portugal caused him to leave that country without delay.

The Germans hate him, M. Maeterlinck believes, because of a play he wrote picturing the 1914-1918 occupation of Belgium. "I have always been an enemy of Germany," he declared upon his arrival.

His wife is some 30 years younger than he. As a child actress, she once played in "The Bluebird." On leaving the ship she admitted to reporters that misfortune had dealt them one more blow. The customs officials had refused to allow the bluebirds to enter the country. The birds had been given to the ship's captain.

Youth Orchestra

Tomorrow, Leopold Stokowski's All-American Youth Orchestra will play a farewell concert in the nation's capital before it leaves to tour Latin America. Eighty young musicians, the pick of the 10,000 who competed in a series of elimination contests, have been rehearsing under the famous conductor for several weeks. The day after their concert in Washington, they will sail for Havana, where their first good-will performance is scheduled. They also plan to play in Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico, and perhaps in the Dominican Republic.

The National Youth Administration cooperated in arranging the nation-wide tests which narrowed the field of contestants down to the 80 orchestra members, who come from all parts of the country. There are plans to keep the orchestra together as a professional organization after its tour is completed sometime late in the summer.

Fingerprinting

The efficient work of spies and the "Fifth Column" in Norway, the Netherlands, and France created in our own country a stir that shows no signs of subsiding. There is plenty of evidence that the threat of spying and sabotage is a serious one and that it is so regarded by responsible officials of the federal government.

The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation says that in the five years before 1938 his department handled an average of 35 spy, sabotage, and defense charges annually. In 1938 the figure was 250, and in 1939 it was 1,651. Now the FBI has had hundreds of special agents added to its force. The President, in his proclamation of limited emergency, appealed to law-enforcement officers everywhere to cooperate with the Bureau by passing on to it information "relating to espionage, counter-espionage, sabotage, and subversive activities."

Fingerprinting is one of the weapons used in the fight against dangerous forces operating within our borders. On August 28 stations set up in post offices, and possibly in schools and other public buildings, will begin fingerprinting aliens. The cards used are likely to be the standard ones which have been employed some time in fingerprinting criminals. It seems likely that black ink will not be used. The fingerprinting which the Post Office Department has done in connection with its postal savings has followed the stainless system developed some 20 years ago by the National Bureau of Standards. In this system there is no messy ink pad on which the fingers must be pressed. Instead, the fingers are

dipped into a paste of lead soap and ferric chloride. The prints are then developed in sodium sulfide and sodium carbonate and are ready for filing.

Radio "hams," as the operators of amateur transmitting stations are called, are being carefully checked these days. The Post Office Department has been asked to fingerprint all radio operators at the same time that it fingerprints aliens.

Ocean Storehouse

Chemists have learned that the ocean is a rich storehouse of raw materials—gold, silver, iron, copper, potassium, aluminum, magne-

CAN'T ESCAPE IT
HOMAN IN OWENSBORO (KY.) MESSENGER

sium, calcium, chlorine, iodine, radium, bromine, and sulphur. In tiny particles or as part of the briny water itself, these materials exist in such quantities that every cubic mile of ocean contains five billion dollars' worth of riches.

Although it may be years before practical methods are developed to extract these materials for commercial use, one firm is already building a plant along the Gulf of Mexico in Texas to produce magnesium from ocean water. Widely used in the manufacture of planes, buses, trains, and tools, magnesium is an important metal alloy. And the Dow Chemical Company has discovered that it can be supplied endlessly by an ocean-water extracting plant. Their refinery will be able to handle 12,000,000 gallons of sea water every day, and it will produce over 12,000,000 pounds of magnesium a year. However, there is enough magnesium in a single cubic mile of ocean water to keep the plant busy for 800 years.

THE CAPITOL AT NIGHT
Congress meets again after the recess.

Home and Abroad

The Doing, Saying, and Thinking

FOREIGN

Week in Europe

Bastille Day 1940, the French Fourth of July, was celebrated not only with mourning, last week, but with a certain uneasiness which spread beyond France into other democratic states. Although Marshal Pétain's new government was occupied mainly in preparing to move from Vichy back to Paris, in putting industry and agriculture on an operating basis,



IS IT LOADED?
ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

and in aiding some 10,000,000 refugees in returning to their homes, it also found time to issue certain decrees regarding race, youth, and social institutions which seem to follow German lines. Jews and prewar liberals in France are fearful.

The newspapers of Berlin and Rome have warned France that her conversion to totalitarianism, while admirable, has come too late to mitigate the peace terms now under discussion in Wiessbaden, Germany. The tension in eastern Europe has slackened again as the Hungarian government has complied with Hitler's instructions to drop its territorial demands on Rumania, for the present. With Hungary and Rumania now demobilizing, thousands of men are being sent back to the farms to get what they can out of 1940's meager wheat crop.

The results of the first big Italo-British naval battle in the Mediterranean appear to be indecisive. Two fleets touched briefly off southeastern Italy, inflicted limited damage

on each other, and then drew back. The Italians claim to have split the British fleet into two segments, one at the east, and the other at the west end of the Mediterranean, but this is a misleading statement, since the British Mediterranean fleet has long been disposed in that fashion. With her preponderance of capital ships, Britain blocks the two ends of the sea while the Italian air force controls the center.

The question of the hour in Europe now is—Why has Hitler been withholding the long-heralded attack on Britain? Neither invasion nor air attacks on the scale of which Germany is capable have yet been unleashed. Some observers believe a big German peace offensive is again in the air, and that Britain will shortly be offered, through her ambassador in Madrid, Sir Samuel Hoare, fairly generous terms that will leave most of her navy and colonies intact on condition that she stay out of European affairs.

Review in Commons

As a precaution against air raids the old halls of Britain's Parliament buildings are lighted with dim floor lights, and members on their way to the House of Commons are constantly reminded of the nature of the times by the fantastic shadows which leap across the walls and ceilings while they walk. But although Britain is under a dictatorship for the duration of the war, Parliament still meets, and subjects the government's policies to searching review.

One policy which has brought particularly severe criticism in Commons has been the government's delay in taking care of the thousands of children who were to be shipped across the Atlantic to Canada, the United States, and other safe places of refuge. Some weeks ago the government began registering children for this undertaking, then it stopped suddenly. The plan was subsequently revived again and registration started over again, but now it has stopped once more.

The comments in Commons on this uncertain policy have been sharp. Pointing to the fact that children of the well-to-do British families have had no trouble in finding passage across the ocean, some critics have charged class discrimination, since those who were to go in the big transports were for the most part children whose family means were modest. In reply, the government has stated that the torpedoing of the steamer *Arandora Star*, loaded with German and Italian prisoners, is proof that unguarded passenger ships are not safe, and that the navy cannot spare warships for convoy duty at present.

So far Prime Minister Churchill's government has been relatively free from criticism, but there is still a great deal of resentment among the British people toward former conservative leaders, such as Chamberlain, Simon, and Hoare, who—rightly or wrongly—are charged with responsibility for Britain's present predicament. But a large voting majority in Commons and a number of seats in the cabinet are still held or controlled by this group of political leaders.

Thunder in Africa

To replace Marshal Italo Balbo, who was recently killed in an air battle with British planes, Mussolini has sent General Rodolfo Graziani across the Mediterranean to command all land operations in Africa. Since Graziani is Italy's Number 1 soldier, this move has been interpreted to mean that the Italians are planning something important in the way of a North African campaign. No longer faced with French troops along the Alpine border, or the necessity of stationing large contingents of troops along the well-fortified border of Tunisia, the Italians are now free to turn their attention to British strongholds which are located throughout the east.

The key to the whole situation in East Africa, from an Italian point of view, is



NOT A PEACEFUL ELECTION

Rioting in Mexico City attended the recent presidential election. Approximately 100 deaths resulted from rioting throughout the country.

Egypt. If Italy could control Egypt she would dominate the Suez Canal, either driving the British fleet out of the eastern Mediterranean or bottling it up, and she would command the land routes between North Africa and Asia. In addition she would control the cultural center of the Moslem world, and occupy a strong position as regards Palestine, Arabia, and the Moslem lands nearby. Since Egypt is in reality a very long, narrow land confined to the fertile strips of soil on either side of the River Nile, it presents a difficult problem of defense. But it is also difficult to attack from the west, since large bodies of troops would have to be moved across a blazing wilderness of parched desert land, and supplying these troops with food and water would not be easy.

No major battle has yet developed over Egypt. The Italians instead are advancing slowly from Ethiopia westward into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, with the object of cutting across it to establish connections with Libya. Unless this contact can be established Italian forces in East Africa may find themselves in a serious position since the only avenue of approach from Italy—by sea—is closed. The British, on their part, have brought Haile Selassie, former emperor of Ethiopia, out of



ITALY'S reported role in the expected attack on Britain will be to keep the British fleet occupied in the Mediterranean, and to strike on land at Egypt (1), at Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (2), at British Somaliland (3), and at Kenya Colony (4).

retirement, and are having some success in rallying Ethiopian warriors to revolt against their Italian masters and join with the 200,000 British colonial troops now in the Near East.

Appointment in Nassau

Not far from the eastern tip of Florida lies a long archipelago of coral sand and shell piles which have been pounded tirelessly by wind and sea into the pleasant region known today as the Bahamas. Discovered by Columbus, who landed on San Salvador (now Watling's Island) in 1492, the Bahamas at various times have been a bone of contention between England and Spain, a rendezvous of Caribbean pirates, and the center of a thriving smuggling trade which flourished during the American Civil War.

About 780 miles in length, the Bahama archipelago contains today about 60,000 people.

people in a total area smaller than Connecticut. Only 20 of the many islands are now inhabited, and they are best known for the attractions they offer tourists—a winter average temperature of 70° Fahrenheit, palm-lined beaches, tropical fruits, gardens, curiously shaped shells, and the famous sponge and turtle fisheries. In addition to what they take in from tourists, the islanders make a little money by exporting sisal, sponges, tomatoes, and, curiously enough, lumber. A British possession since 1718, the Bahama group is administered by a governor general, who is also commander-in-chief of a small militia force, and who is aided by two councils and the island assembly of 29 members.

To fill a recent vacancy which occurred in the governor's post, King George has appointed his brother Edward, Duke of Windsor and former King of England, who will shortly take up his residence in the stately Government House in Nassau. There is some difference of opinion as to why Windsor has been given this post. Some hold it is to give him something to do. Others state that the government wants to keep him out of England, not so much because of his insistence on abdicating to marry the former Mrs. Simpson, as because of his alleged association with Nazi leaders in times past. A third theory is that the British government expects the Caribbean area to play an important part in the war, and wants to have a man of some stature as governor of the Bahamas during the critical period ahead.

Havana Conference

Delegates to the special Pan-American conference in Havana gathered in an atmosphere clouded with uncertainty and misgivings, last week, partly as the result of sharp political pressure applied by the German government. Particularly affected by this pressure, apparently, were the delegations from Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil—all of which lie at some distance from the United States, contain German minorities, and have been singled out for special attention by the Nazis. Delegates from the five Central American republics—Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and Guatemala—came from capitals which had been agitated by a thinly disguised German warning in the form of a "note of observation" which strongly advised that no move be approved in Havana that might be interpreted as unfriendly to Germany or German interests.

To nearly every Latin-American government German agents delivered warnings to the effect that the war is already all but won, and that Germany will be prepared to fill large orders by fall. Any country failing to fall into the spirit of Berlin's trade wishes, the warnings went, would find itself excluded from European markets when Germany began the reorganization of Europe. This has proved to be a very telling threat, since Latin-American countries are dependent to a very large degree on European markets. Cut off from them, they might face economic strangulation. The Central American republics have rejected the German warning, but in South America many governments are impressed by the German position.



HARRIS & EWING

CAPITOL AT NIGHT
the scene for the Democratic National Convention.



THE CAPITOL BUILDING IN HAVANA

HAPAG LLOYD

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Monroe Doctrine and the Havana Conference

BEHIND all the discussions which will take place during the conference of the American nations now in session at Havana will be that fundamental basis of United States foreign policy, the Monroe Doctrine. Whether the matter under consideration be a program of defense for the Western Hemisphere, the fate of French possessions in this hemisphere, the proposed cartel to control commerce between the American nations and the European continent; all specific problems must be

fitted into the general framework of the Monroe Doctrine. For well over a century, the Monroe Doctrine has been the basis of American policy in this hemisphere.

New Issues Arise

The importance of the Monroe Doctrine has been strongly emphasized since the outbreak of war last September. With the German occupation of Denmark, it became no longer an academic question, for one of Denmark's possessions, Greenland, is located in the Western Hemisphere. The surrender of France and the establishment of a new government in France—a government without independence and subject to the dictates of Berlin—again raised vital issues, for French possessions lie close to the shores of the United States. As the war in Europe continues, still more vital problems are likely to come to the fore to command the serious attention of the American people. In the difficult period through which the world is passing, the Monroe Doctrine will undoubtedly be challenged as it has never been challenged in the 117 years of its existence. It is important, therefore, that the American people have a clear understanding of the important features of the doctrine.

In the first place, the Monroe Doctrine has become an established basis of American foreign policy, accepted by all administrations since it was first enunciated by President James Monroe on December 2, 1823. It has been variously expanded and reinterpreted to meet new situations, but it has never been repudiated.

By its very nature, the Monroe Doctrine places the United States in a position of dominance in the Western Hemisphere. It was not announced as a result of agreement among the nations of the Americas, but was rather adopted and proclaimed to the world by the government in Washington. On many occasions, there has been resentment among the Latin-American nations at the dominance which the United States assumed under the Monroe Doc-



DAVID S. MUZZEY

Distinction Made

The Monroe Doctrine drew a clear distinction between our relations with the nations of Europe and with those of the Western Hemisphere. "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers."

It becomes apparent, then, that the Monroe Doctrine has a twofold purpose: To warn the European nations to keep their hands off the Western Hemisphere, and to pledge aloofness on the part of the United States from the purely internal affairs of Europe. Thomas Jefferson stated these principles as follows: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs."

In determining its future policy with respect to the present European conflict, the United States will have to decide—if it is to be consistent with the Monroe Doctrine—whether the war abroad is purely a European affair or whether it is a conflict in which "our rights are invaded or seriously menaced." On this issue, the American people are sharply divided. The so-called isolationists maintain that the struggle is merely another European war, one which does not directly concern the United States or threaten its security. The other group is convinced that the struggle does directly concern the United States, that the Nazi regime will seek—in fact is already seeking—to extend its system to the Western Hemisphere, and that this country therefore has a right, under the Monroe Doctrine, to prevent a German victory.

Personalities in the News

ALTHOUGH it has been three years since Congress battled over the Supreme Court bill, the result of that fight is vividly recalled when the name of Montana's Senator Burton K. Wheeler is mentioned. For he is credited with having led the opposition to the measure. Strong words were spoken and tempers frayed ragged in the bitter controversy, as he astutely devised the strategies which finally defeated the forces of the Roosevelt administration.

This has never been forgiven or forgotten by members of the Roosevelt political family. For a time, Wheeler's seat in the Senate was the price being demanded for his decision to oppose the administration's wishes in the court fight. A long-range plan, aimed at unseating him when he came up for reelection this fall, was put into operation. Although this movement lost its steam, the grudge was revived again when Wheeler was put forward as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination some months ago.

Lately, however, he has been weighing the possibilities of promoting his candidacy through a new third party—a strongly isolationist group, supported perhaps by John L. Lewis, who bestowed his blessings on Wheeler's presidential hopes weeks ago. If Wheeler should choose this means of registering his distaste for the administration's foreign policies, it will not be the first time that he has run on a third-party ticket. In 1924, he was the running mate of Robert M. La Follette, Sr., on the Progressive party ticket.

Wheeler is one of the Senate's most colorful members. A native of New England, he remained in his Massachusetts home town until he was ready for law school. Waiting tables, clerking in the dean's office, and peddling books in the summertime were the jobs which paid his way through the University of Michigan. After graduating, he chose Colorado as a good state in which to set up a law practice, but the people there "did not seem to recognize my legal talents, so I went my way to Montana."

His best offer in Butte was \$50 a month, so Wheeler prepared to take a westbound train that evening, hoping to find a better proposition elsewhere. But some unprincipled poker players changed his mind by winning all his money and his train ticket—the \$50-a-month job then looked better to the stranded young lawyer. Within four years, he was elected to the state legislature. During the World War years, as a federal district attorney, he refused to prosecute indiscriminately when so many persons were hysterically accused of being spies and pro-Germans.

An unsuccessful candidate for the governorship in 1920, Wheeler was elected to the United States Senate two years later. A shrewd, seasoned politician, he is a hard fighter and a resourceful debater. Aside from the Supreme Court bill, he has been generally consistent in his support of the domestic policies of the Roosevelt administration.



BURTON K. WHEELER

AS the French government prepared to move from Vichy back to German-occupied Paris, last week, the aged Marshal Pétain appointed as his right-hand man and ultimate political heir Pierre Laval, who has played an active part in French politics for 26 years, and who is generally regarded as being one of the shrewdest, smoothest political negotiators in France.

Pierre Laval was born in 1883, son of the village butcher in a little town in the province of Auvergne. Although he trained for law, and actually did handle a few corporation matters, his unusual talent for political give-and-take soon brought him into the Chamber of Deputies where he represented a suburb of Paris. The voting population of his district contained a large number of Communists, Socialists, and other workers' parties. Thus it is not surprising that Laval should have followed their radical platforms in parliament at first, but it is surprising that he has managed to keep the political support of his district, while turning himself into an extreme conservative.

Laval first stirred up trouble for himself when he called for peace and refused to volunteer during the World War. He was drafted finally, and spent a short period in the ranks, but passed most of the war period in parliament. After the Socialists and Communists split, in 1920, Laval was brought into the cabinet by Premier Briand, who was impressed by the young man's skill as a corridor negotiator, and Laval eventually became private secretary to Briand himself.

In the years that followed, Laval's for-



PIERRE LAVAL

tunes rose and fell. He served almost continuously as mayor of Aubervilliers; he became a senator, foreign minister, and finally premier of France. It was in 1930 and 1931, while in this last office, that he gained world-wide attention, visiting Germany, taking an important role in negotiations leading up to the Hoover moratorium on international debts, and paying a visit to President Hoover in his camp in the Virginia mountains.

As the years passed, Laval continued to drift away from the Socialists, and closer to French industrial and banking circles. He also became more and more anxious to ensure French security by reaching permanent agreements with Italy and Germany, as well as with Britain. Forced out of office for a few years, he came back as foreign minister and premier in 1934-35, and straightway arrived at what later became known as the Hoare-Laval agreement between Britain and France and Italy. Details of this agreement were later exposed by an American newspaper chain, and Laval was eventually forced out of office because it was believed that he had given Mussolini a free hand in Ethiopia.

Laval today is a wealthy man. He owns a number of estates, and is easily recognizable because of his swarthy countenance, stocky figure, and because of the white tie which he always wears.

Two Decades of Broadcasting to Be Celebrated Throughout Nation

FOR many years, radio's early pioneers carried on their experimental work with the idea of perfecting the new method of communication for use between individuals. They thought of it as a telephone without wires. And that purpose of radio is widely developed today—between planes in the air and landing fields, between cruising police cars and station headquarters, between ships at sea and shore points or other ships.

It was only a little over 20 years ago that someone hit upon the idea of having radio stations send out music, news, and entertainment which could be picked up on receiving sets located in homes of the surrounding area. Here and there, a lone experimental station was set up to test out this idea—to see how successfully broadcasts could be received at scattered points in nearby localities, and whether listeners fancied the idea of getting their entertainment over the air waves.

Station KDKA, one of these experimental broadcasters, was located in Pittsburgh. After weeks of tests, KDKA put its first regular broadcast on the air in the evening of November 2, 1920. All day long, the nation's voters had been choosing between Warren G. Harding and James M. Cox for president of the United States. Running with Cox on the Democratic ticket was young Franklin D. Roosevelt. Calvin Coolidge was the Republican vice-presidential candidate.

So for its first broadcast, KDKA put the election returns on the air. Only a handful of amateur radio enthusiasts had sets within effective broadcasting distance from the station—they and their friends were the audience for radio's first regular broadcasting service in the United States.

This event dramatized the possibilities of mass communication by radio. And the next year an important boxing match was broadcast, further stimulating interest in radio. From then on, new broadcasting stations were built by the score, and a new industry was on its way.

Later this summer, radio stations will recall those early days in special programs to celebrate broadcasting's first two decades of history. Awards will be given to pioneer inventors, and to present-day experimenters, commentators, entertainers and performers, announcers, and officials.

It will be recalled how, in the early days, there was confusion and disorder on the airways. Broadcasts overlapped each other—locations on the dial were often jammed too closely together. Finally, the government stepped in to regulate radio communication, and order was gradually restored. Today radio stations are under the close supervision of the Federal Communications Commission, which has authority over the erection of new stations, the expansion of existing ones, and various other developments which occur regularly in the broadcasting world.

Nor is there any doubt that the stations will compare their first crude programs with the material which they broadcast today. Much as we like to criticize radio broadcasts, they are much more highly specialized than the early attempts. Announcers and entertainers felt their way, nervously unaccustomed to appearing before an unseen audience. It took them a long time to exploit the use of sound effects—and to produce effects which sounded as they were intended to be heard. Presentations over the air were sometimes informal, sometimes stilted.

Like every other industry, radio gradually acquired its polish, pushing out amateurs in favor of professional announcers and performers, maintaining a strict schedule of broadcasts which clicked to the minute, and developing programs which drew listeners for reasons of interest rather than of curiosity.

And the early receiving sets—even those 10 or 15 years old—look like museum pieces alongside today's streamlined, effi-

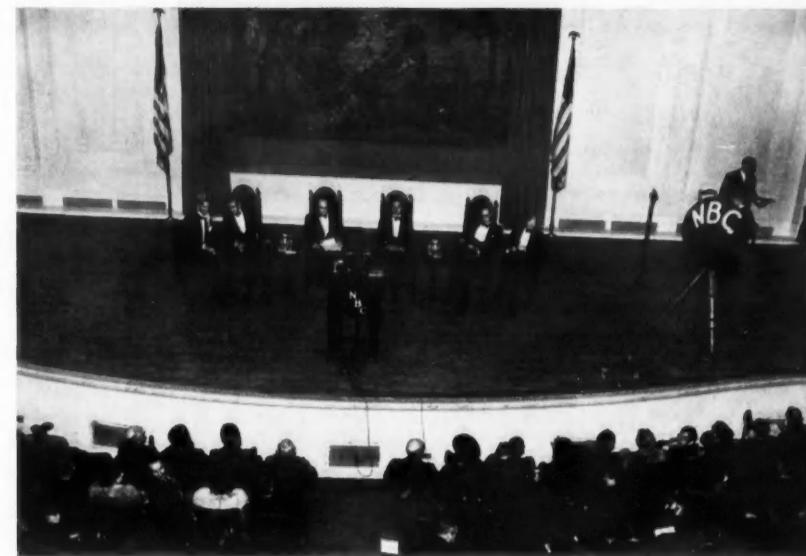
cient cabinets, which are equipped with push-button tuning, concealed loud-speakers, and hidden aerials. Like the early automobiles, the first radios were costly, and even then they could not be depended on to perform regularly for the proud owners who invited in their neighbors for an evening of listening through the unwieldy headsets which were passed from person to person.

Today, radio is on the brink of even more startling changes. Although its use is still restricted, television is no longer the curiosity that it once was. Radio sets are the possible printing plant of the future, too. The device which enables a station to take a page of print and broadcast it over the air will be sending out images to be picked up on a roll of paper attached to a receiving set in one's living room.

Perhaps the most immediate improvement is frequency modulation, the new type of sound waves which stations are preparing to employ. It is claimed that experimental stations which have been operating with frequency modulation send out programs which no static can disturb. Even severe electrical storms fail to produce a crackle on these broadcasts. "FM," as it is called, must be introduced slowly, however, because receiving sets which can pick up the present broadcasts—called amplitude modulation—are unable to tune in the new type of broadcast waves. During the years when sets are being scrapped and gradually replaced with models capable of receiving FM, stations will probably send out both types of broadcasts. The Federal Communications Commission



is closely regulating the change, but it has already authorized a few stations to begin using frequency modulation, the latest of radio's amazing developments in its first 20 years.



COURTESY NBC
BROADCAST OF THE TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

- Straight Thinking -

"A Step Toward . . ."

"If you take the first step, you will take the last!" says Kipling in his "St. Helena Lullaby." The road from "a fight in Paris street" to that lonely island off the coast of Africa seems a direct and fateful one in his summary of Napoleon's story. He makes us feel that once Bonaparte has embarked on his career his destiny is fixed.

The idea that what has happened *had* to happen is strengthened for us by the history we study. We read the first step, see how it led to the second and third, and are likely to be convinced that there was something inevitable about it all. This difficulty has been recognized by teachers of history, and some believe that the subject should be taught backward—in reverse chronological order—to keep students from regarding the characters of whom they read as actors following a predetermined plot. The history teacher wants his pupils to see that at every step a number of choices present themselves to men. Each step leads to another, it is true, but to what end in the future no one at any given time is able to say with any degree of certainty.

And yet that is the very thing we so often see attempted. Suppose, through prejudice or self-interest, we oppose a measure. Suppose we can find in it no fault which we feel will discredit it in the eyes of the public. At once we raise the cry, "But see to what this will lead! It is a step straight toward . . ." and we fill in the blank with "communism" or "fas-

cism" or "war" or any other eventuality which our audience views with a great deal of horror.

Legislation to help poorly paid workers has often been condemned as a step toward socialism. Neutrality law revision was called a step toward the battlefields of Europe. Today a relatively modest program for training a part of our man power is being branded by some as a move toward military dictatorship. To point this out is not to argue that labor laws can never be followed by socialism, neutrality law revision by war, or compulsory training by militarism. It is to say simply that the laws, the revision, and the training need not necessarily lead to the ends prophesied. After all, a step is only a step, not a whole journey. If we board a train bound for New York, it may indeed take us to New York, but it cannot do so if we do not wish it. We may get off at Chicago or Philadelphia. We may go part way and come home again.

Certainly we should explore carefully the possible consequences of any course of action we may undertake. But let us not assume that we have to follow to some distant extreme any direction in which we may find it desirable to take a single step. If the step necessarily meant the extreme, we could find safety only in standing still. When a move is necessary, we must make it boldly and promptly. We cannot refuse to go to the corner grocery on the ground that if we continued in a straight line we should fall into the river.

- Do You Keep Up With the News? -

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 8, column 4)

- Which of these two groups of foreign countries did not send their foreign ministers to the Havana Conference? (a) Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay; (b) Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Colombia.
- True or false: "A bill is up before Congress authorizing the President to mobilize the National Guard for full-time training in peacetime."
- After what war was the Third French Republic founded?
- The new president and premier of France is The vice-premier is
- The new slogan of totalitarian France is (a) Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; (b) Believe, Obey, Fight; (c) One Leader, One Folk, One People; (d) Labor, Family, Fatherland.
- Who is the newly appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the Bahamas?
- The press of what foreign nation recently played up a so-called "incident" involving United States marines and soldiers of the country in question as a "new American atrocity?" Where did the "incident" take place?
- Who said: "I feel convinced, in refusing to abdicate, that I act in harmony with the will of the people?"
- In the United States today, there are around (a) 2,500,000 aliens; (b) 3,600,000; (c) 6,200,000; (d) 1,800,000 aliens.
- What bill, passed by both houses of Congress and aimed to curb the political activities of government employees, was awaiting the President's signature last week?
- In whose cabinet was Henry L. Stimson secretary of war once before?
- True or false: The nation's public debt at the end of fiscal year 1940 is \$42,967,000,000, which is \$2,528,000,000 more than a year ago and \$20,428,000,000 greater than at the completion of the fiscal year 1933.
- If Mobilization Day ever comes to the United States, all men between the ages of (a) 18 and 45 years; (b) 16 and 60 years; (c) 20 and 40 years; (d) 21 and 45 years will be subject to military service under the selected service draft.
- The National Labor Relations Board celebrates its (a) fifth; (b) tenth; (c) seventh; (d) third anniversary this month. True or false: "The Board has handled 28,000 cases since its existence, with 11 cases out of 12 settled by peaceful agreements."
- What subject was Prime Minister Winston Churchill discussing when he said before the British House of Commons: "Perhaps it will come tonight. Perhaps it will come next week. Perhaps it will never come?"
- What is the largest city in Latin America?
- The premier of Eire is
- True or false: "The United States has removed quota limitations on the admission of refugee children from European war areas."
- The Civil Aeronautics Board of the Department of Commerce recently granted permission to the American Export Airlines to compete with what other air line in trans-Atlantic air transport service? Between what two key ports will this new service operate?
- Who spoke these words before the Democratic National Convention: "There is no place in the United States for those who would put the red torch of revolution and disunion against our democratic form of government"?



S. F. B.

Hatch Measures Affect Politics

(Concluded from page 1)

or to work for the election of certain candidates. Federal officeholders must confine their political activities to voting. As pointed out earlier, this restriction does not apply to persons in policy-making positions.

3. It is unlawful to promise jobs or other favors to persons in return for "any political activity." This provision is designed to eliminate one of the most serious abuses of American politics—the use of patronage or government jobs to secure political support for candidates.

4. It is against the law to deprive or threaten to deprive voters of employment by the federal government if they refuse to vote as dictated to. In the past, persons employed by the federal government have been threatened with the loss of their jobs, and persons receiving other benefits from the government have been threatened with loss of these benefits, for failure to support the party in power. The Hatch Act is designed to eliminate this type of coercion in the future.

5. It is unlawful for any person to solicit funds or make assessments upon persons receiving relief or upon relief officials. This provision is designed to divorce the administration of relief from all political considerations and to prevent the recurrence of abuses that are known to have existed in the 1936 campaign.

Many Restrictions

These are the principal provisions of the original Hatch Act, which applied to federal officeholders and employees. It does not prevent employees of the federal government from voting as they please; nor does it prohibit them from expressing privately their opinions on all political subjects, such as their preference for candidates. But it does prohibit them from taking an "active part in political management or in political campaigns."

The main purpose of the second Hatch Act, passed by Congress on July 11, is to extend these restrictions to employees of state and local government agencies whose funds come partly or wholly from the federal government. It applies to employees of state highway commissions or departments because the federal government provides part of the funds for road construction; to social security and welfare agencies of the states and to employment offices; to schools and universities which receive federal aid; and to all other agencies. It does not apply to governors or mayors or to other state and local officials who hold policy-making positions.

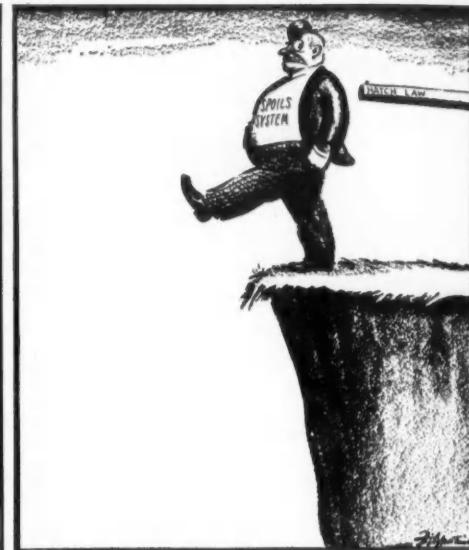
But the second Hatch Act goes much further in regulating political activities. It places restrictions upon the amount of money the parties may spend, upon



H. B. E.
SENATOR HATCH



"YOU DIRTY BOY"
SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH



A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

the size of contributions they may accept, and upon a number of political activities. One of the principal purposes of this new act admittedly is to regulate the use of money in politics and in political campaigns.

Those who manage the campaigns of the Democrats and Republicans this fall will find themselves seriously handicapped and hemmed in by the restrictions of the Hatch Act. Neither party's national committee will be allowed to spend more than \$3,000,000 a year. Nor will they be able to accept more than \$5,000 from any single individual contributor. Persons who hold or who seek contracts with the federal government are forbidden to make contributions to either political party. Under previous legislation, corporations are forbidden to make contributions to political parties or to candidates for office.

Cost of Campaigns

To those who are not familiar with the high cost of running political campaigns, the \$3,000,000 maximum may seem adequate for the purpose. However, that sum is mere chicken feed, compared with expenditures of past campaigns. The cost of carrying out political campaigns has been rapidly increasing during recent years. In the 1936 campaign, for example, the Republican National Committee spent a total of \$8,893,000 and the Democratic Committee, \$5,195,000—a total of \$14,000,000, or more than twice as much as is allowed under the Hatch Act. But these expenditures of the national committees constitute only part of the total outlay. Additional expenditures are made by senatorial and congressional committees, by state, county, district, and city party committees, and by various types of auxiliary political organizations—all vitally interested in the success of the national tickets.

A Senate committee which investigated the cost of the 1936 election tabulated a total expenditure of nearly \$24,000,000 in that election. And the committee admitted that this figure did not include the total cost—only those expenditures which were

reported. "If the committee might venture an approximation of the total cost of the election of 1936," its report declared, "it would indicate a figure relatively double the sum which it has tabulated and presented. This takes into consideration . . . certain assumptions based on experience of the committee during its inquiries and in handling its investigations and statistical program. Among these assumptions is that grounded in the knowledge that much money is handed from person to person in campaigns and never accounted for. There is no way of estimating the number of these cash transactions and the amounts of money involved. Whatever assumptions are made on that basis alone can only be guesses based on long political experience where actual cases have come to light." Thus, according to the estimate of this Senate committee, the expenditures of the 1936 campaign amounted to some \$48,000,000.

Money Raising

Not only will the Democrats and the Republicans be limited in the amount of money they can spend during the 1940 campaign, but they will be restricted in their methods of raising money. In the past, the parties have resorted to different methods in raising campaign funds. The Republicans, for example, have raised most of their money by direct contributions. More than 99 per cent of their funds for the 1936 campaign came from such sources. In 1936, six contributors gave more than \$100,000 each, and there were numerous contributions from \$30,000 to \$100,000. About a fourth of the Republican fund of 1936 was made up of contributions of \$5,000 or more.

While the proportion of the Democratic campaign chest made up of cash contributions of \$5,000 or more was as great as the Republican in 1936, the Democrats depended heavily upon sources other than direct gifts for their total fund. Less than half of their fund came from contributions. They obtained large sums of money from the Jackson Day dinners, from the sale of their convention book and from the sale of advertising space in the book, and from other sources.

During recent years there has been a tendency to increase the number of contributors to the chests of both parties. Resentment against large contributions from a few persons or from corporations resulted in a law forbidding gifts from corporations or national banks. This restriction has been somewhat nullified, however, by the practice of having the officers of corporations make the contributions in their own names. The \$5,000 limitation of the Hatch Act will eliminate this practice and both parties will have to turn to smaller contributions from a larger number of contributors.

It has been argued that these restrictions upon the use of money in political campaigns will have a healthful effect upon the quality of American democracy. When individuals are allowed to make large contributions to the campaign chests of the party, they feel that they have a right to demand favors if that party comes to

power. They are in a position to determine the policies of the party. It is far more healthful when the costs of running a campaign are spread out over a large number of people. In this way, the people themselves will insist upon a voice in determining policies and in naming candidates.

Problems for 1940 Campaign

Will the parties be able to raise the necessary funds with their large contributions shut off? If so, will they be able to run a presidential campaign on \$3,000,000? There seems to be little doubt that the Democrats and Republicans can raise the funds by appealing to larger numbers of contributors. Whether they can run their campaigns on \$3,000,000 is another matter. Changes in the methods of campaigning have come about in recent years and they have increased the costs. Perhaps the largest single item of expenditure is radio broadcasting. It is estimated that well over \$2,000,000 was spent for this purpose during the 1936 campaign. Another large item of expense is advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Traveling expenses for candidates and campaign expenses make up another large item, as do the salaries of officials, postage charges, campaign literature, and dozens of other items.

The coming campaign should demonstrate whether the parties can conduct their preelection drives on the funds permitted by the new Hatch Act. It has been contended by some that they will be unable to do so and will be able to find some way to get around the law. While the two national committees might collect and spend only \$3,000,000 each, a number of state and local and auxiliary committees might be formed to collect and spend funds during the campaign. The next few months should demonstrate whether the spirit of the Hatch Act can be carried out, as well as its letter.

If the Hatch Act fails to produce the desired results, it is possible that a strong movement will be launched for further reforms in our political practices. For a number of years, it has been suggested that voluntary contributions be eliminated altogether and that the federal government assume the expenses of elections. Senator Hatch has indicated that he may ask for a congressional study of the whole elections system with a view to making recommendations for a sweeping program of election reform.

Answer Keys

Do You Keep Up With the News?

1. (a); 2. true; 3. Franco-Prussian War; 4. Marshal Henri Pétain; 5. Pierre Laval; 6. Duke of Windsor; 7. Japan, International Settlement, Shanghai; 8. Norwegian King Haakon; 9. (b); 10. Hatch bill; 11. William Howard Taft's cabinet; 12. true; 13. (a); 14. (a), true; 15. the invasion of England; 16. Buenos Aires; 17. Eamon de Valera; 18. true; 19. Pan American Airways, New York City and Lisbon; 20. Representative William B. Bankhead, keynote speaker.

"Do you think the radio will ever completely replace the newspaper?"

"Of course not. You can't swat flies with a radio!" —JACK-O'-LANTERN

"Say, buddy, could you let me have a dime for a cup of coffee?"

"A dime? Coffee is only five cents."

"I know, but I've got a date." —RECORD



"WHAT'LL I DO, DEAR? EVERY TIME I THROW BACK THE LITTLE ONE, THIS ONE GRABS IT!" —COE IN AMERICAN MAGAZINE

"Oh, Mother, look at that cute little hat in the window. Let's go buy it."

"Yes, darling—right by it!" —SELECTED

"Did you say that any incompetent man could run a hotel?"

"No. I said that any inn-experienced man could." —SELECTED

"Now, children," said the stingy man at the dinner table, "do you want some cold meat, or a nickel apiece?"

Three hands went up for the nickel. The meat was removed, and the apple pie was served.

"Now, children," said the man, "who wants a piece of pie for a nickel?" —PBX

"The last grapefruit you sold me was terrible."

"I know, but wait until you get an eyeful of this one!" —PANTHER

"Yes, we had to let our maid go."

"But why?"

"Well, you know we live in a trailer, and she kept getting the wrong oil in the salad." —LABOR

"What is rigid economy?"

"A dead Scotsman." —GARGOYLE